

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon Current Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

CARPENTER'S FOREIGN POLICY.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Senator Matt. H. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, made an address at Beloit College last month, on occasion of the dedication of a Memorial Hall in honor of the fallen heroes of the war, and explained in the course of it the programme of a party among our political men whose opinions, whether we agree with them or not, demand our most careful consideration. Senator Carpenter reminds us of the early Puritans who governed the State with the aid of the catechism, and constructed political platforms upon strict theological principles. The choice of a party is for him a matter of prayer and devout meditation. The Constitution of the United States is to be read by the light of the Bible, and the Fourth of July is not only a national holiday but a sacred festival. To the sentiments of such earnest politicians it is fitting that we should listen with respect; but they are very strong, and sooner or later they exert a powerful influence. American liberty, according to Mr. Carpenter, is a part of God's scheme for the social regeneration of the world. Out of the darkness and oppression of Eastern despotism he gradually evoked the dawn of liberty, which moved ever eastward until in the British islands, on the very verge of the civilized world, it broke into the fixed light which is destined to irradiate the whole earth. The new continent of America received the gift, and here it was fostered, by the almost miraculous assistance of heaven, until it resulted in the perfect doctrine of the full equality and freedom of man. We have reached this goal through long suffering and trial and war, and now it is our duty to spread throughout the nations the same elevated principles. Hence the mission of America becomes, according to this view, a divine inspiration, and Republican statesmen are elevated to the romantic dignity of crusaders. Hence, also, a certain degree of interference in the affairs of Europe becomes not only our privilege but our sacred duty.

Mr. Carpenter is far from desiring that we shall declare general war against kings and emperors, especially if a steady menace of war can be made to serve our purpose as well as actual hostilities; but we are bound to do our utmost to subvert wherever we can in exercise of our national power. England, for instance, is now in the agony of a great struggle between the people and the aristocracy. Our relations with that Government enable us either to aid or embarrass the Liberal party. We have a heavy pecuniary claim against England for damages inflicted by the Alabama; we have cause of grave complaint, even of war, for the unparalleled "insolence" of Great Britain in the Mason and Shillid affair; we have a just grievance in the conduct of the Ministry towards the Southern Rebels, whereby the war was indefinitely prolonged, and our commerce and treasury suffered a loss not to be computed in dollars. For all these injuries, and all this insolence we have a right to hold England responsible. Our true course is to keep the exercise of this right in reserve until it can be put forth in such a manner as to most effectually serve the English Liberals—that is, the English people—who were always our friends, and whose interests are identical with our own. We have a right to go to war; very well, the right will keep. Let us wait till the time comes to use it. "If, in some crisis of her political destiny, we should see that it was in our power, by enforcing our utmost rights by war, to be an instrument in the hands of God to avenge the outrages committed by that blood-stained monarchy, and to establish the republican element of her people, no principle of the law of nations would be violated that we had chosen that moment for the stern enforcement of our just rights." Let our Government, if it will, buy up the claims of its own citizens for indemnity on account of the Confederate piracy, and then let it say to the English Republicans:—"You have got the aristocracy on a down grade; now push them. We will wait for our ten millions' actual pecuniary loss, until you get into power and can pay it; and when you have trampled the governing classes under your heel, you will thereby have saved us the trouble of chastising them for their insolence, and then we will clasp hands across the Atlantic in joint sympathy with every people struggling to be free."

With the Republicans of Spain, of France, of Italy, of the other countries of Europe, we are also united by ties of interest and of solemn obligation, and these also it may be our privilege some day to help as we can now help the Republicans of England. That this general crusade of liberty can be preached without a final appeal to the sword, Mr. Carpenter, for all his peaceful disclaimers, evidently does not believe. All good things, he reasons, must be bought with a price; education costs money, prayer costs money, life itself costs money; and the glorious functions which the Almighty has assigned to the United States cannot be fulfilled without labor and battle. It was well to keep aloof from foreign complications while we were young and weak; but now that we have reached manhood we must face the duties and bear the responsibilities of manhood. "We must be about our Father's business."

THE SUEZ CANAL AS AN AGENT OF CIVILIZATION.

From the N. Y. Herald.

After ages of bloodshed and misery the world has learned the fact that it is impossible to civilize a people by force. The thing can no more be done than can a law make good and moral citizens. The process in both cases must be gradual. People cannot be made religious by means of Sunday laws; they cannot be beaten into civility. The process that the original inhabitants of this country have undergone is a most striking evidence of the failure of the compulsory principle. We, or rather the European races and their descendants, have succeeded, after having spent nearly four hundred years in the effort, in almost exterminating the unfortunate victims, and have in return given them only our worst vices. Who can trace in the now lazy, ignorant, good-for-nothing native inhabitant of Mexico or Peru the descendant of those men who built the marvellous cities that Cortez and Pizarro so effectively civilized out of existence? Granting the Indians of Cooper to

have been fair types of their race, what has civilization done in turning one of the Mohicans into the thieving vagabond that infests our Western frontier? It is true that the races not of the Caucasian type seem to have reached their final development long ago, and that for many years they have been retrograding. Some of these races are undoubtedly doomed to extinction; but contact with higher civilized types has almost invariably hastened the inevitable result.

A different policy has, however, been inaugurated; we are pursuing a more humane course towards our Indians; England is commencing to see the necessity of doing more justice to her countless subjects in the East; she is also about to give up the "gunboat policy" in her relations with the Chinese, thanks to the efforts of one of our citizens; Japan is feeling the effects of an enlightened intercourse with more civilized nations, thanks again to the movement inaugurated by our Government. Egypt for years past has felt the invigorating effect of intercourse with more highly developed nations; she may thank her geographical situation for the fact that the compulsory course of treatment has not been insisted on in her case; the control of the overland route to the East has been of such great importance that no one power has been allowed to monopolize it; her treatment has been dictated by the mutual jealousy of the doctors, and the same with Turkey.

An illustration in one of the late English pictorial papers marks a new era; the subject is an immense boat load of Mohammedan pilgrims on their road to Mecca, being towed by a steamer through the Suez Canal. What an immense field of thought this subject presents to the political philosopher! The highest appliances of modern skill brought to bear to aid the descendants of the very men who for ages were the greatest terror to the ancestors of those who are now helping them on their pilgrimage—the Frank helping the Turk. What would the shade of Charles Martel, that hero who saved France from the fierce followers of the false prophet, say to this? And what effect will this have on those very pilgrims—what effect upon Egypt herself—Egypt, the very mother of civilization, rich above all other lands in records of remote greatness? What effect can it not fail of having?

Fanaticism can never be subdued by force. There is no truer saying than "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church"; but men are always most open to material arguments, and none could be more convincing than those which the Christian races are now putting before the East. Christianity to-day certainly possesses the monopoly of power, of intellect, and of influence in the world. Christians are physically better off than the followers of other sects, have better houses, better food, are better paid for their work. The best argument with the heathen is to show him the condition of Christians compared to his own. It must be better than our system, he naturally says, since these men enjoy the comforts of life in so much higher degree than I do.

The Suez Canal, by showing them what Christian enterprise can accomplish, is worth a hundred missionaries. It produces respect for the system whose followers can produce such results; it excites their ambition by holding forth to them the most tempting rewards should they embrace the religion whose disciples rule the world. And the great enterprise which will mark a new era in commerce, which will produce new developments of the utmost importance in the political relations of the world, will also be a most potent agent in the regeneration and conversion of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Turkey, and through them will react on the vast interior regions of Africa and Asia.

THE CARPET-BAGGERS IN CONGRESS.

From the N. Y. World.

Now that the people of the Southern States are slowly emerging from the condition of captives to recover their rights with their duties as citizens of the Union, it will begin perhaps to be clear to all men of sane perceptions not only that the class of persons known as "carpet-baggers" really are held in contempt at the South, but also that they deserve to be held in contempt, and that in the North as well as in the South. The carpet-bag in itself is a harmless, necessary impediment enough, nor is it intrinsically contemptible that a man whose whole worldly goods are compressible within a carpet-bag should pack them into one, take it up, and set forth in search of fortune. Honest men, men of sense and of character, with or without carpet-bags, are needed in the South, as they are needed in the West, in the East—wherever there is work to be done, wherever there are resources to be developed and opportunities to be put to profit. Not is there any reason to suppose that the South, any more than the West or the East, desires to repel such persons from its borders. The "carpet-bagger" is a political adventurer who has got place and pelf for himself by making the poverty and the political prostration of the Southern whites work together with the credulity and ignorance of the Southern blacks for his personal advancement. All honest and respectable Northern leaders of the party with which such adventurers have necessarily acted know perfectly well that the arts and influences by which the "carpet-baggers" have gained their object are influences and arts which no honest and respectable man could possibly use either at the South or at the North. Knowing this, they naturally shun all but the most strictly formal associations for strictly political purposes with such persons. The "carpet-bagger" who appears at Washington in the guise of a radical representative of Georgia or of a Republican Senator from Louisiana may be put upon a committee, but he is not taken into its councils; he may be admitted to a caucus, but he has no share in shaping its decisions; he may be granted the floor in Congress, but no man listens to his palaver. The scandal of his presence among them must be endured by the Republicans who really represent real constituencies, for it is they who have made that scandal possible by the tissue of outrages upon liberty which they have christened "the Reconstruction of the South." But they are only willing to endure this scandal as a body. As individuals, they keep their skirts as clear of personal contact as possible with the creatures of their evil work. Doubtless, but it is of their own making. They are punished whereby they sinned. Desiring to get radical members into Congress from the South, they planted a class of radical members should get into Congress from the South without disgrace and dishonor. Northern men who appear in Congress as Democratic conservative members from the South are treated by respectable radicals from the North with courtesy and respect, because those respectable radicals know that they were sent to Congress by the best men, the real people, of the districts which they claim to represent. The nonsense which is talked on the stump at the North and West about

the "truly loyal" constituencies of the genuine radical "carpet-baggers," by no means cheats the politicians who talk it. They understand the true state of the case perfectly, and they govern their personal relations accordingly.

The average radical Congressman from the North is not much of a hero, nor does he greatly resemble the Douglas of Sir Walter Scott's chivalric poem. But he has sense and self-respect enough to make as sharp a difference between the official and the personal claims of the average radical "carpet-bagger" from the South as was made by the grim old Earl between the official and the personal claims of the English envoy—

"My manors, halls, and bowers shall still Be open at my sovereign's will To each one whom he lists, however Unmeet to be the owner's peer!"

The hand of Douglas is his own, And never shall in friendly grasp The hand of such a Marston clasp." This subject and twilight condition of the radical carpet-baggers in Congress is one of the many hopeful auguries of the near dawning of a better day. The contempt in which these men are held is reacting, slowly, perhaps, but surely, upon the system which has called them into being. The spectacle of a class of Congressional Pariahs representing the tyranny of an ignorant minority over an intelligent majority cannot but be revolting to a free people. Armas and acts of Congress may make such a spectacle possible for a time. They cannot make it for any long time tolerable.

FEWER STATES AND GREATER ONES.

From the N. Y. Times.

A Russian journal of some authority reports that the Czar is much disquieted by the project of Prussia to pierce the Isthmus of Schleswig. To obviate as far as possible the embarrassments likely to result from such a step, the Prince Gortschakoff is doing his utmost to bring about a union of the States of Denmark and Sweden. In furtherance of these views the Czar determined to send Prince Vladimir to assist at Stockholm on the 29th of July, at the marriage of the hereditary Prince of Denmark and the Princess Louise, of Sweden.

If this be true, we wish the Czar's scheme every possible success. There are too many States in Europe. The Italian and Prussian wars, by reducing their number a dozen or so, showed the direction in which civilization in Europe was moving. The railroad, the telegraph, and the newspaper have made the interests of each State more and more the interest of all, and every unnecessary frontier is an obstruction, a calamity.

There is a great economy in long lines of railway and telegraph; in the paucity of courts and custom-houses; in controlling large masses by the same laws; in establishing Congress intercourse with many markets. A court for a small State is nearly or quite as expensive as a large one. The more States there are the more are national prejudices and jealousies cultivated, and peculiarities and differences of idiom perpetuated. A large State is a power, has a literature, a national spirit, does memorable things, breeds great men.

This is less true of small States. Neither Sweden or Denmark is capable of constituting a separate nationality. They have neither the population nor the territorial qualifications for such a role in Europe, and their relative incapacity diminishes annually. Together they might make a powerful State. It is a pity that Spain and Portugal cannot see that they do not possess the material for two empires.

THE CONVICTED USURERS.

From the N. Y. Sun.

The Wall street brokers who pleaded guilty to the indictments against them for usury were sentenced by Judge Cardozo yesterday.

President Grant, in his inaugural, expressed the opinion that the best way to secure the repeal of the obnoxious laws is to enforce them. The general sentiment of the mercantile community is against the usury laws, though the school of political economists to which the Hon. Horace Greeley belongs is opposed to repealing them.

The Nation, in an article upon these presidential asks that it means that a jury of intelligent merchants could be found to indict citizens under this law, which had become virtually a dead letter. It means that a jury could be found in this city who did the duty which they were sworn to perform. Every law upon the statute-book of the State of New York should be strictly enforced. Repeat it, if it is a bad one; but obey it so long as it remains there.

BUTYRACEOUS BOSH.

From the N. Y. World.

The Chinese are reputed to be the most intolerably polite people in the world. They carry that self-suppression, which is the essence of good-breeding, so far that when they speak of themselves or their belongings, it is always in terms of depreciation. "I have just had the exquisite pleasure," observes one Chinese father to another, "of beholding your pile-of-volumes-son and your string-of-rubies-daughter." "Nay," responds the other, "with infinite humility, 'dog of a son have I none, though a bamboocable cat of a daughter I have."

Now, we don't propose to recommend this extravagance of politeness. But is there no mean between this and the sublimities of sense in which our own people are so fond of indulging? On Saturday, Newburg "banqueted" our paripetate President. He sitting at table, this toast was gravely read out before his very face, and drunk "with all the honors":

"The Military Academy of West Point—may it in the future, as it has in the past, be always able to produce the first soldiers of the age."

If one of the guests at this banquet of humpkins had picked up a pat of palpable actual butter from the table and clapped it, after the Abyssinian fashion, on the top of the President's head, we doubt whether even Mr. Grant's patience under donations would have enabled him to keep his temper. But this pat of moral butter was flung in his face with glee, and so far as appears, accepted by him with satisfaction.

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